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Why and How Did Peace Suddenly Break Out?

To return to Washington after a month's vacation in so eventful an August is to feel like a Rip Van Winkle, but one pleasantly awakened to a world he never expected to see. The President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense have been eloquently speaking the language one heard earlier only from fringe groups like SANE which seemed to be crying in a nuclear wilderness. Peace has broken out, and hope leaps up again. The chances of defeating the limited test ban so swiftly negotiated in Moscow appear almost non-existent; one influential Midwestern Republican Senator warned his party colleagues privately they could not afford to be lined up for radioactive fallout and against peace. The scientific community is almost solidly against Dr. Teller; the Air Force and its satellite Senators like Thurmond and Jackson know they are licked. The real need is to mobilize an alert public opinion to keep the Administration from being made prisoner by the malcontents at home and abroad, particularly those West Germans who would like to make further moves toward peace impossibly difficult. For this it may be useful to summarize the sudden change in the world picture as it appears to one observer.

A New Enemy

Historically, old enmities among nations have usually been resolved by the appearance of newer rivals. This is what happened to the centuries old struggle between England and France when, midway in the War of 1870, it became clear that Germany had suddenly grown formidable enough to threaten both of them. Something of this sort has happened in the relations between the U.S. and the USSR. Some time between last March and June, the struggle between Moscow and Peking reached the point where it overshadowed the struggle between Moscow and Washington. The former was more dangerous to Khrushchev because it threatened his political position at home and within the bloc. For him, Mao represented an immediate political danger; for Russia, which has still not forgotten the centuries when it was ruled by invaders out of Asia, the new China represented a potential threat. Overnight Khrushchev accepted the limited treaty he had always rejected before as advantageous to the U.S., which is more advanced in underground testing. He did so, in my opinion, because it gave him his first concrete achievement in the campaign for co-existence on which he has staked his career, and even more because it isolated China. The treaty rests on three areas of mutual interest to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. One is to prevent the emergence of a nuclear China which would be a menace to both. A second is their common interest as the two great nuclear powers in maintaining their near monopoly as long as possible. The third —the one neither talks about—is to keep Europe divided and subordinate because a united Europe with nuclear arms would —*in terms of population, resources and technology*—be a far greater threat than China is likely to be for many years to come. The problem is not ideological. Were Europe from the Channel to the Pripet marshes Communist, it would be too big for Russian control, and it would be a greater headache for Moscow than is Communist China. On the other hand, our "chicken war" with the Common Market and our difficulties with de Gaulle are only a slight taste of the economic and political troubles we would have with a united capitalist Europe, competing against us for the markets of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

I do not mean to imply that Kennedy and Khrushchev are not moved by the danger of nuclear war and the burden of the arms race; both the danger and the burden are so great that no one could sit in the seat of power, with full knowledge of the facts, and not be appalled and inspired to seek some way out. But the freedom of action possessed by both men is so circumscribed by the nature of the nation state system, and the life-and-death dependence of each nation on its own military, i.e. its machinery for murder, that they have little room for maneuver even when mutual interests appear. To see this one need only imagine what would be happening now in the Senate if the President had presented a treaty outlawing all tests or initiating substantial disarmament. Conversely it is not hard to imagine Khrushchev's problems with his own bureaucracy if he had agreed

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The March

Back from a month in Western Europe, forced to go to press the day before the march on Washington, I can only contribute my own reaction from a freshened perspective. It is one of hope. Seen from afar, the racial convulsion shaking our country seems the invigorating reflection of an enduring vitality and idealism. Just what the march will mean nobody knows. Its impact on Congress will not be tangible. But as a symbol, particularly as it visibly unites the conscience of the white community with the aspiration of the Negro, it can have a subtle and enduring effect. The road ahead is not smooth; there will be much racial trouble in the North; this revolution, like every other, will have its follies and its crimes. But I have the feeling that justice will be achieved more easily than we expect. The last generation wiped out the sweatshop. This one will complete the Negro's liberation, the final fulfilment in that myth of equality which is our country's pride and the source of its creative energy. The March, the deference paid to it in almost every quarter from the President down, the moral health this reflects, shows that in 1963 we Americans are as a people not wholly unworthy of our past.

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A Don Quixote, But One Who Tilted Against Real Monsters, Not Windmills

Estes Kefauver Was A Bold Non-Conformist in the Senate's Smug Club

No sooner had Estes Kefauver been elected to the House in 1940 when he became one of the few Southern Congressmen to fight for repeal of the poll tax. His maiden speech in the Senate nine years later was against the filibuster. He was the only Southern Senator to support the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision; the only one who did not sign the Southern Manifesto. He believed in democracy with a small d: in the Senate, he antagonized the oligarchy by trying to break the dead hand of raw seniority precedence and to institute election of committee chairmen by the committees themselves. In the Democratic party, he challenged the bosses; they never forgave his exposure of the links between the big machines and crime. They took Stevenson as a lesser evil in 1952. Still, a poor man in politics, with the professionals against him, Kefauver got as far as the vice presidential nomination in 1956. His finest epitaph was the sign somebody hastily scrawled over his headquarters in 1952 when the machine politicians barely stopped him, "Nobody wants Estes but the people." Not since Norris and La Follette has anybody in the Senate been so consistently—to use old-fashioned language—for "the people" and against "the interests" as Estes Kefauver.

An Amazingly Effective Maverick

The language is old fashioned because acquiescence in the domination of American life by giant corporations is the mark of our time; they rule by sharing power with the big wheels of the labor movement and by comfortable adjustment to the demands of the welfare state. Big business, big labor and big politics enjoy an Era of Good Feeling, in which each shows a fraternal concern for the others' racket. Kefauver seemed a Don Quixote amid (if this be the right expression) the Cool Cats. Several obit writers referred to him as a tilter against windmills. But the windmills of Cervantes were imaginary monsters. Those against which Kefauver tilted were real: the effort in the Dixon-Yates scandal to let the private power crowd take over TVA; the gross overcharges of the steel giants and the uneconomic nonsense of the automobile industry; the ugly greed with which the drug companies market their often dangerously untried nostrums and exploit the aged and the sick. He died in the midst of a fight to expose the efforts of the big drug companies to prevent the sale of lower priced drugs in Latin America. In this area Kefauver left behind the first two major reforms of their kind since 1914: the Kefauver-Celler Act of 1950 tightening up the anti-trust laws and last year's Kefauver-Harris bill tightening up the pure food and drug laws. Nobody ever achieved more against greater odds. His administrative price hearings are an eye-opener to our economic realities, and paid off richly in curbing steel and drug prices. Behind the scenes, a mere inquiry from his anti-trust subcommittee was often enough to stop a corporate steal. Kefauver in this sense was indeed a tribune of the people, wielding a one-man veto made possible by his integrity, industry and courage.

This last of the Southern Populists affected the manners of a mountain rustic, but he was one of the few really sophisticated intellectuals in the Senate. Some of Wall Street's best corporation minds came off second best in his deft cross-examinations. With all this went a devotion to traditional American freedoms few have shown in the past two haunted decades. He voted several times against the House Un-American Activities Committee in the House; he was one of the ten Senators who voted to uphold Truman's veto of the Internal Security Act's thought controls in 1950; he was the only Senator to vote against outlawry of the Communist Party in 1954. In 1955, in the fight over the Formosa resolution, Kefauver was one of the few who tried to keep the doors open in the Far East for a United Nations settlement of the dispute over both Formosa and the offshore islands. His speeches then showed the same bold non-conformity and insight that marked his entire career. We salute his passing with sorrow and grateful reverence.

Words Which Needed Saying

"Many of the ills from which our society is suffering arise from the fact that the AFL-CIO has lost much of its vision, its idealism, and, with it, its power to exercise any major influence over the course that our society takes. Its voice, with pitifully few exceptions, is indistinguishable from the voice of other conservative organizations."

—Ashby G. Smith, president, National Alliance for Postal Employes (largely Negro) at its golden anniversary convention, in New York City, Aug. 22, which protested the continued hostility of the (largely lily-white) AFL-CIO Postal Clerks.

How Catholics Are Treated By The Castro Regime On Which We Make Covert War

"Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker, said news is being 'managed or mismanaged' so that tensions between the United States and Cuba are increased. Miss Day, who recently toured Cuba, said: 'I am publicly accused of being a liar when I have stated during lectures that I was able to get to daily mass and to receive communion in all the cities I visited there.

" 'Who among the readers of our Catholic and secular press realize that the church in Cuba sent two representatives to the Vatican Council in Rome, that Cuba is the only Marxist-Leninist country which has a representative at the Vatican and that the government in Cuba ordered three days of mourning on the death of Pope John?

" 'I would say that the Catholic press in this country has taken part in this mismanagement of news just as the secular press has'."

—UPI from Chicago in the Washington Post Aug. 20, reporting on press symposium in the Catholic Critic.

"Mexico City, Aug. 9 (UPI)—British author Graham Greene said here that Cubans 'live better than in the days of Batista,' and that 'there is no religious persecution, and anyone can hear mass whenever he wishes.' The author returned yesterday from Havana, where he was a guest of the Cuban government for the July 26 celebration. 'There is plenty of work in Cuba today for everyone, the students are serious, well-behaved, and I felt that the Cuban people are happier than before,' Greene told airport reporters."

—A dispatch on the UPI ticker Aug. 9 printed by few if any U.S. papers. Greene, author of "Our Man in Havana," is a Roman Catholic.

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Reuss Disclosed State Dept Effort to Shut Off Criticism of Diem Regime

Vietnam Crisis Underscores the Dangers in the New Sedition Bill

David Halberstam, who has been doing a brilliantly independent minded job of reporting from South Vietnam for the *New York Times*, wrote in its issue of Aug. 24 that the crisis had "underlined what some sources here consider to be one of the gravest sicknesses of the vast and talented American mission here—a vast divergence between what the people in the field are seeing and reporting and what the highest American authorities are reporting. Some observers," he continued, "see the heads of the mission so tied to the Ngo family that, as one source said, 'their world is completely different from ours. It's like we're in different countries'."

Rusk's Instructions to Saigon

But the State Department in Washington, instead of welcoming independent reporting from South Vietnam as a corrective, has been doing its best to shut off reporting that differs from the official Diem line. The evidence of this was presented by Congressman Henry S. Reuss (*D. Wis.*) on the floor of the House July 16 during debate on the Administration's bill to extend the sedition law to cover any writings or utterances abroad which may undermine the morale of the armed forces.

Mr. Reuss told the House that on May 24 the Moss subcommittee on government information had held an executive session on complaints from U.S. correspondents in Vietnam about their access to news. He said the transcript was still classified but that he had succeeded in declassifying the information he was about to give the House. He disclosed that American information policy in Vietnam has been governed "by a cable sent within the last 2 years from the Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Vietnam." This cable set out as one of its principal guidelines "that critical articles by American newsmen on Diem and his government are likely to impede the war effort." Roger Hilsman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, tried under questioning by Mr. Reuss at the hearing to dismiss the Rusk directive as "just a fuzzily written cable." Mr. Reuss pointed out that this passage was not at all fuzzy and that the U.S. Ambassador in carrying out these instructions "has got to do his level best to suppress such articles."

"The official position of the U.S. government appears to be," Mr. Reuss told the House, "that criticism of Diem, however justified, will impede the course of our operation there. Would this not be an attempt to cause insubordination, or to obstruct enlistment in the U.S. armed forces? If it is, the newsman who writes about Diem's persecution of the Buddhists, or his ofttimes curious administrative practices, would be liable for fine or imprisonment as a seditionist. We ought to be enlarging the frontiers of freedom, at home and abroad, not contracting them."

An effort to recommit the sedition bill was defeated 338-40 and it then passed on a voice vote. We hope that liberals in the Senate will block its final passage. The sedition act it would extend to utterances abroad is the notorious 1917 statute under which so many repressive follies were committed and the saintly Eugene V. Debs sent to jail. It is now applicable in peacetime because of the permanent "emergency" declarations under which we live. Its extension to utterances abroad was made necessary, the House Judiciary Committee said in reporting it, "by reason of our military, diplomatic and commercial commitments around the world."

These expensive and explosive imperial commitments make it more necessary than ever to have the freest possible discussion of foreign policy issues. South Vietnam is only the latest and most dramatic example of the costly and humiliating errors in which they may involve us. The Attorney General, in asking for the bill, was vague but its floor manager Rep. Poff (*R. Va.*) cited the broadcasts from Cuba of Robert F. Williams and the aborted attempt to prosecute Powell's *China Monthly Review* after the Korean War. Mr. Poff said there was no guarantee "that a similar case might not at any moment develop in South Vietnam where the U.S. today has American officers and troops actively deployed."

If It's Southern, It's Not Seditious

Mr. JOELSON (D. N.J.): Where there is a civil rights disturbance and the National Guard is activated, if the Governor of the State involved were to importune the National Guard or even order it to defy or go contrary to the orders of the President, would the Governor of that State be chargeable with sedition?

Mr. POFF (R. Va.): I could not imagine that the Attorney General would so misinterpret the patent intent of the Congress.

—During the July 16 debate on the sedition bill.

How Buddhists Are Treated By The Catholic Regime We Support in Vietnam

"Many Vietnamese Catholics (the Archbishop of Saigon, Mgr. Nguyen Van Binh among them) disapprove of the policy of arbitrary clericalism on the part of the President of South Vietnam, the Catholic Ngo Nhu Diem. The principal weapon of this policy is a statute promulgated—under French rule—by the former Chief of State, Bao Dai, designed to aid Christian missions. It imposed upon Buddhism and upon Buddhism alone the status of a private association. Buddhist monks were therefore obliged to ask for official authorization of any public activity.

"When the Diem government was established in 1955, it promised to annul this statute. The promise was not kept. On the contrary, the Catholic Church benefitted from exceptional privileges. In Hue market I was able to buy food supplies—oil, maize, cheese—bearing the words, 'Not to be sold or exchanged—gift of the people of the USA.' These supplies were sent by the Americans to Catholic organizations to be distributed free in the countryside. But they were often sold openly. . . .

"The police tortured one of my students, Phan Dunh Binh, to get his signature at the bottom of a document accusing the Buddhist chief priest of working for the Communists. One of my colleagues, a German, was allowed to see this student a few days later; he was unrecognizable.

"After these events I protested officially, with three of my colleagues, against the tortures and against the fact that in taking away our patients the authorities were stopping us from carrying out our medical duties. We later resigned and decided to leave South Vietnam."

—Erich Wulff, a West German who spent two years as a doctor in Hue, where the attacks on the Buddhists began, writing Aug. 18 in the London Observer.

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Why Not Explore China's Proposal for A Nuclear Free Pacific?

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to open Russia to mobile inspectors or other international controls.

Only A New World Order

What follows from this is the need for the peace movement to focus on the inescapable necessity of a new world order if further progress toward peace and disarmament is to be made. The spread of nuclear arms cannot be stopped by an American-Soviet condominium. The reasons which led the British to develop their own independent nuclear murder machine are the same ones which move the French and the Chinese. This limited treaty will not stop Swiss, Swedish and Israeli progress toward the Bomb. We used our Bomb first in war without preliminary testing; they, too, may test underground. Only if the nuclear powers give up their nuclear weapons can the spread be stopped, and then only if some kind of world federal order with full inspection powers can police such an agreement and guarantee security against aggression. Within some such framework many political problems which now appear insoluble may be solved, especially the reunion of all the divided countries from Germany to Korea and Vietnam. It should not escape attention that the greatest opposition to the treaty has come from those countries which have not yet achieved reunification, and fear to see their disunion become frozen and permanent. In this respect Adenauer and Mao, on opposite sides of the political spectrum, reflect very similar political conditions. In these divisions are the seeds of new war.

Everybody is willing to give up what they do not have. China, like Russia when it was non-nuclear, launches a campaign to ban the bomb it does not have but is desperately trying to acquire. France, without long range missiles, talks of banning means of delivery. In both cases, the opening for negotiation should be exploited. It would be to our long range national advantage to explore the Chinese proposal for a nuclear free Pacific; it would be worth withdrawing our nuclear forces from the Far East in return for a nuclear free China. De Gaulle's proposal for a conference on means of delivery should be taken up; this offers a means both to bring back France within the framework of disarmament talks and to focus attention on the next big problem. If missiles and planes could be eliminated, the fangs of the nuclear monster would be drawn. It is only by bringing large and magnanimous perspectives to bear that Kennedy and Khrushchev can make further progress on the road upon which they have made a first small tentative step. We need to think in terms of the planet and of the human race as a whole if we are to secure the future for our children.

One way to dramatize a new human order would be a joint Russo-American trip to the moon, planned by an international scientific body on which Chinese and Swiss, German and French, British and Polish scientists, among others, would serve as a symbol of human unity.

It Takes More Than Megatons

Events in South Vietnam should be a reminder, in the midst of the test ban debate, that national power is not measured in megatons alone. Our 7th fleet off Vietnam probably carries enough nuclear power to make all Southeast Asia uninhabitable. But for all this power we cannot make the Diem regime behave. We are easily humiliated by our pigmy satellite because we are the prisoners of our own oversimplified anti-Communism, and of the instinctively undemocratic military and foreign service bureaucracies on which we depend in these distant imperial adventures. These bureaucracies made a joke of our anti-colonialist pretensions in South Vietnam by the kind of people they put into power. The father of that wilful spoiled darling Mme. Nhu, who has just resigned as Ambassador in Washington, was the puppet Foreign Minister under the Japanese occupation. President Diem had been Bao Dai's Minister of the Interior under the French. These aristocratic and wealthy smoothies have known how to serve, and to use, Americans as they did Japanese and French before us. Pentagon and State Dept (see p. 3) have helped this medieval minded family clique to deceive the U.S. public. It is time to establish a broadly based Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy in South Vietnam, to bring the facts home (we highly recommend Helen B. Lamb's account in the August 10 Nation of the Vietnamese exile movements in Paris) and to end the nonsense that there are no alternatives to Diem. His concentration camps must be full of them.

IFS Will Speak on Sun. afternoon, Sept. 15 at New York City Town Hall Welcome for Students From Cuba

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